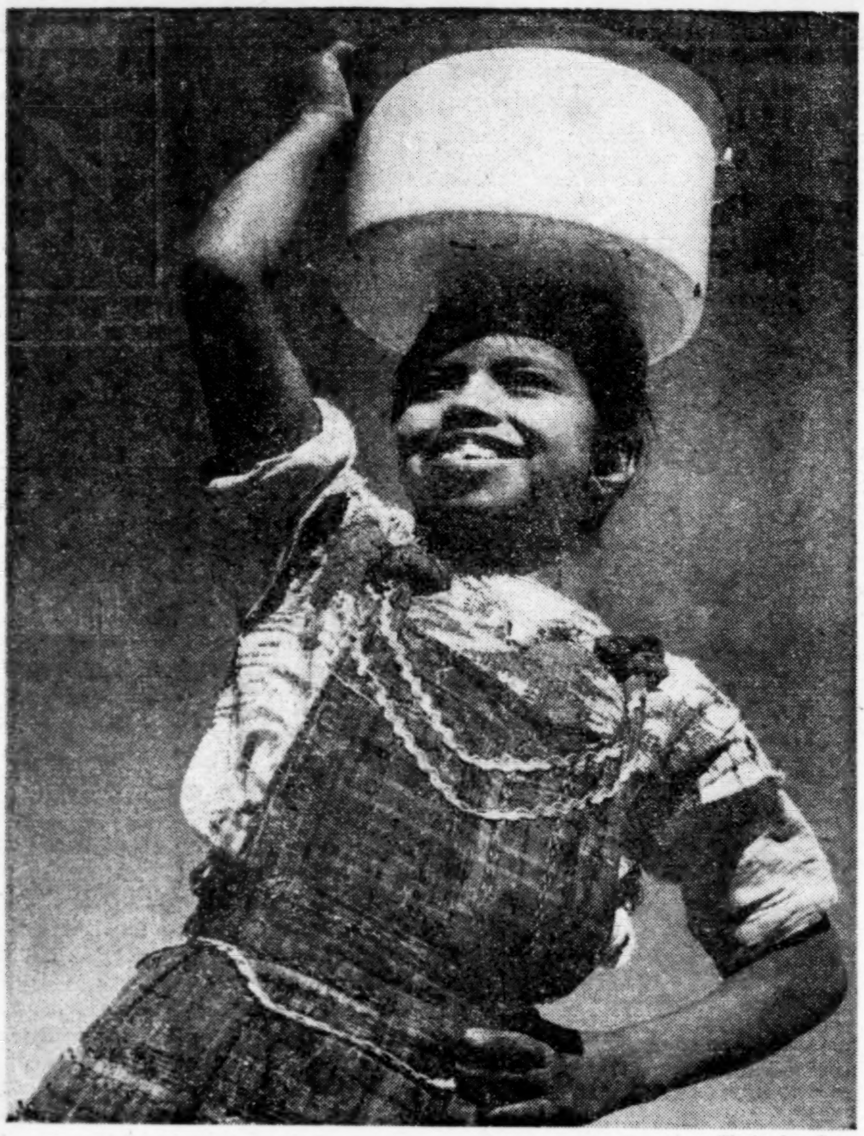

Photo by Gey

The symbol of free Guatemala
A life to live in good health, with learning and land

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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LATIN AMERICA

The real facts about the invasion of Guatemala

WHEN, on June 18, the first bombs fell on Guatemala the war was probably off its schedule by six months. It appeared to have been timed to break last winter.

In November the N. Y. **Times'** Sidney Gruson (11/8/ 53) reported that those seeking the "protection of their own vast economic interests" anticipated "U. S. armed intervention to overthrow" the Guatemalan government.

In December the Natl. Planning Assn., speaking for high financial circles, said that "it may no longer be possible to eliminate communists [in Guatemala] by peaceful means."

All through the winter the threats rumbled. Senate Foreign Relations Comm. Chairman Alexander Wiley (R-Wisc.), the State Dept.'s John Cabot, AFL President George Meany all made ominous pronouncements about Guatemala. House Foreign Affairs subcommittee chairman Donald Jackson (R-Calif.) said:

> "A showdown [in Guatemala] is imminent. . . . The Soviet threat there is aggression as surely as if it were backed by the bayonets of the Red Army. . . . The situation has deteriorated until we find ourselves confronted with a Korea in the west."

PHOTOSTATIC EVIDENCE: In January U. S. jet planes went on maneuvers over Central America and the Laredo (Tex.) **Times** (1/15) noted: "This 'good-will' trip represents an unquestioned demonstration of force."

On Jan. 29 Guatemalan officials called correspondents to the presidential palace, put before them 200 photostats to document charges of a plot to invade Guatemala by land from Honduras, by sea from Nicaragua. The

(Continued on Page 4)

(Courtesy of Life Magazine)
COL. CASTILLO ARMAS
Who's HE trying to look like?

UNITED NATIONS

France frustrates U.S. move to block action by UN on Guatemala

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y.

FOUR YEARS to the day after the UN Security Council was summoned by Washington into emergency Sunday session to intervene in the Korean War, the Council met in another emergency Sunday session to hear Guatemala's plea for UN action to halt aggression against that country. Until 10 p.m. Saturday, U. S. delegate Henry C. Lodge, Security Council president for June, had refused Guatemala's demand for a Sunday meeting. He yielded only when reminded of a comment he had made during the Council's discussion the day before, concerning Thailand's request for a Peace Observers Commission. Lodge said then:

> "I hope that I will never live to see the day when a small country comes to the UN and asks for protection against war and is simply greeted with the question: 'What's the hurry?' "

These words were to haunt Lodge often during the tense five-hour session, before packed galleries drawn by the drama of tiny Guatemala's challenge to the "Colossus of the North."

FRANCE'S ROLE: Lodge opened the meeting by announcing that a joint Brazil-Colombia resolution to refer the Guatemala question to the O. A. S. (Organization of American States) was already in the hopper. Seasoned UN observers felt the fix was in. Guatemala had already rejected an appeal to OAS, a tribune before which the U. S. had recently threatened to hail Guatemala as a "threat to peace." Guatemala seemed destined for a formal UN hearing and a brushoff.

But this session proved to be unprecedented. It was one of those rare occasions when the U. S., on a key issue, did not have things all its way. Chiefly responsible was the new government of France. It was reported to have phoned its UN delegation, only two hours before the Council meeting, with instructions which eventually resulted in a unanimous Council demand for a cease-fire in Guatemala. For Guatemala this meant the UN recognized that it is a victim of outside aggression and not, as the U. S. claimed, that it merely faced internal revolt.

THE REAL REASON: First came a moving hour-long speech by Guatemala's delegate Dr. Eduardo Castillo-Arriola, who described his government as "the first democratic government my country has had in this century." He recounted the history of the United Fruit Co.'s strangling grip on Guatemala's economic and political life, and the government's distribution—after the 1944 revolution—of United Fruit's unused, uncultivated land to landless peasants. Referring to the charges of "communist infiltration" in Guatemala, he said the reforms were the real reason for the campaign against his country. He asserted:

> "If tomorrow the Communist Party—a party in Guatemala that has a certain support because we are a free country which allows freedom of thought—were to be outlawed by the Guatemalan government and all its members deported, a new pretext would be found for the campaign."

He outlined the background of the current invasion, charged the United Fruit Co., some U. S. officials and the governments of Nicaragua and Hon-

(Continued on Page 5)

EDUARDO CASTILLO-ARRIOLA
He spoke for Guatemala

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FALL IN WITH THE SPIRIT OF '54

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"You will rise again even as the grass of the field; though all men's hands be set against you, though you feel isolated and abandoned, you, the rank and file; will surely rise to spread the green mantle of democracy over this ravished American soil."—OSCAR AMERINGER (speaking to Illinois miners, 1930).

REPORT TO READERS

Reminders for June

YOU ARE THE GUARDIAN's most vital statistic. Right now, as June comes to a close, our statistics say that about one-third of all subscribers owe us a renewal. (The other two-thirds are paid up; if this means you, skip the next paragraph.)

If you are among the one-third in arrears, kindly fall in behind our young "Spirit of '54" parader, right across the page there, and follow directions. We need your renewal desperately, and we figure we'd better get this bid in before you shoot the works next weekend firing salutes to Independence.

•

EVERY COMMUNITY of readers has our request for a GUARDIAN gathering of some kind this summer, in your backyard or somebody else's, at the beach or your favorite spot, or in your air-cooled three-story walk-up. We have a hamper full of inviting ideas for making such a gathering a social, political and/or financial success. Just drop us a note or postcard saying "Tell me more" and giving an approximate date if possible. You'll hear from us right after the Fourth with all the details.

THE MAIL BAG

Operation Guatemala

MIAMI BEACH, FLA.

Guatemala is as important as Indo-China. In South and Central America Guatemala has no friends or allies to supply her swiftly with military equipment or technical assistance. To be sure, her workers and small farmers, benefitting from her pro-labor and pro-small farmer programs, support her. I am sure that the labor and small farmer population of the other countries in South and Central America support her. Yet the governments of these countries are controlled by the big plantation owners and the business groups, not by the peasants or the workers. These regimes have a community of interest with American corporations and will subjugate hapless Guatemala if something is not done to stop them. Then all social progress in that part of the world will be halted. Guatemala is a people's government and will spread her beneficial programs by mere force of example—if she is still around to do it. **Paul Lehner**

A set-up for Joe

BRONX, N. Y.

There was an assertion that it was in McCarthy's interest to cut short the hearings before McCarthy testified. Now, reading McCarthy's "testimony" on June 9, one can see that the whole thing was a very shrewd trick by somebody to enact this McCarthy testimony on just this stage. All the rest was merely prologues and epilogues.

This "testimony" was an interview, Jenkins-McCarthy, in which the former elicited and the latter obliged a definition or an "outline" of the Communist Party, according to McCarthy's views.

Howard Cohn

Who'd like to reply?

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Would you call Joe the Blow a "No Amendment Fascist?"

Emmese

For Ethel and Julius

SULLIVAN, IND.

In memory of those two martyrs, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, enclosed please find $5 for your sustaining fund, and $5 to the Natl. Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell.

The despicable Cohn and the smirking Jenkins may have their ghoulish witticism for the TV audience, and the journalistic pimps may refer to the Rosenbergs as "convicted spies," but the inexorable mills of the gods are grinding, and a terrible judgment of eternal infamy awaits Kaufman, Cohn, McGrath, McGranery, Brownell, Truman, Eisenhower and the Supreme Court justices who refused even to review the manifest denial of elementary justice in the shockingly brutal and unfair trial.

(Judge) Norval K. Harris

Three letters

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

According to press reports, a veritable flood of mail swamped the politicians after Vice President Nixon's "Maybe we'll send troops" speech. Then comes Adm. Carney's preventive war speech. It's time for another deluge of mail.

I wrote to Sen. Ed. C. Johnson of Colorado lending my small voice to his common sense stand on the Far Eastern crisis. I received a quick reply saying: "It is going to require every thing we can do to keep the administration from sending American soldiers to Indo-China."

I believe that the most important thing we can all do now is to sit down and write three letters, one each to: your Congressman, your Senator, and the President.

John G. Fisher

How crazy can you get dept.

Had A-BOMBS on Japan produced defects in children born since? Yes. . . . No. . . .

No, according to a report in "Science Service." It was expected that there would be more still-births, more malformed babies, and that babies would weigh less. These results have not occurred. Certainly encouraging as we look into the future A-Bomb possibilities.

From "Let's Explore Your Mind" by Albert E. Wiggam, D. Sc. Los Angeles Daily News, 6/8/54.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner this week: Julius Merkelson, Tujunga, Cal.

Understatement

FAIRVIEW, MONT.

Most of the people you talk to around here are against sending troops to Indo-China. Sure would be a terrific blunder. **Wm. L. Bane**

Utah governor acts

PAROWAN, UTAH

The left-wing press ignores the fact that Gov. Lee of Utah has urged every person in the state to write the President and all U.S. Congressmen and ask them to bring an end at once to the war in Indo-China, through mediation.

Olive Carroll

"War and prosperity"

CHICAGO, ILL.

Tabitha Petran's clear, sharp analysis of U.S. foreign policy and its handmaiden, American domestic policy, are a new high in American journalism.

As the bankruptcy of U.S. foreign policy grows more evident, the danger of the supreme gamble, World War III, also grows. The acute phase of the developing economic crisis is not far away. Isn't it evident that, as the crisis deepens, the warmongers will try to sell the American people the twin package of "war and prosperity"?

I believe it is necessary not only to expose the drive to war, as you have done so ably, but also to clarify the economic consequences of another war. **E. Bernstein**

He's staying right here

FUNGO HOLLOW, ALA.

What we need is a few Joe Hills. Five would chase a hundred and a hundred would put ten thousand to flight.

At one stage of a fight, a man said: "He that is not against us is for us." At another stage, the man said: "He that is not with us is against us — or scattereth abroad. . . ."

(Rev.) Claude C. Williams

Farm hands

NEW YORK, N.Y.

A woman in Vermont has devised a simple formula for getting work done on her farm and for giving city people a chance to have a vacation. She offers room and board at her place in exchange for three hours of work each day (per person), for two week periods or longer. The work she requires can be done by almost anyone—painting, carpentry, gardening and the usual chores. The rest of the time everyone is on his own.

It seems to me that this plan has a good deal of merit for progressives. There are many of us who can't afford country vacations and there must be a number of farmers who need extra hands at small expense to themselves.

Does anybody second the motion?

Bernard A. Foster

Alibi Ike's Calendar

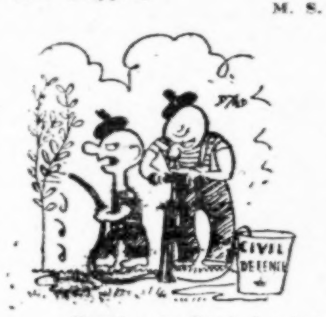
NO. HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.

I thought you would be interested in reading something my boss has hanging on his wall:

EVERY MONTH IS BAD FOR BUSINESS BECAUSE:

JANUARY: "People are broke after the holidays."
FEBRUARY: "Only 26 days, and everybody is in Florida, anyhow."
MARCH: "Lent and income tax."
APRIL: "They're all buying Easter clothes."
MAY: "The weather's too nice to stay indoors."
JUNE: "Vacations are coming."
JULY & AUGUST: "Everybody is away."
SEPTEMBER: "People are still broke from vacations."
OCTOBER: "Football and winter clothes grab the money."
NOVEMBER: "Elections and the cost of coal have people worried."
DECEMBER: "Everybody's Christmas shopping."

M. S.



Drawing by Dyad, London

"It's not much good for potato bug either."

Keep on sending

SEATTLE, WASH.

Please do not cross me off the list of "Angels" for the GUARDIAN, but know that I will have to postpone my contribution for a while because my husband is out of work. It hurts me not to be able to do something right now.

The GUARDIAN being in the truest sense "our paper," we naturally feel the same responsibility toward it that one feels towards one's own child.

You people are doing a magnificent job. We'll be joining you again as soon as humanly possible. Just keep on sending your monthly envelopes, and one of these days I'll have something for it.

Mrs. Marjorie Westman

Bouillon and badgers

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Here is a hint to beat the coffee hold-up: Buy either beef or chicken bouillon cubes and make nice, nourishing drinks. No seasoning necessary. Allow one cube to each cup of very hot water and stir until dissolved. Here on the West Coast, the cubes come five in a small, round tin can and sell for 10c.

If you ever run out of names to call Joe-Joe, just notify me and I'll send more to you. How about PULVEX? It means flea. Or take this choice one, TELEDU? Definition: the stinking badger of Java and Sumatra. **W. P. C.**

A Franco-ized U.S.?

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Like it or not, the American people must face up to the real implications of McCarthyism. Americans like to deceive themselves about religious freedom and freedom of speech in their country and refuse to recognize the steady, partly-successful efforts of the Roman Catholic Church to impose its political ideology.

It is no accident that the two most reactionary and aggressive politicians in the country—McCarthy and McCarran — are Roman Catholics. Left alone, these men would convert the U.S. into another Spain, Portugal or Colombia, to name only three countries in which Roman Catholic political aims have become dominant.

The politicians of other religious faiths, because of their wild and to them profitable campaign against "communism," have become the catspaw of the Catholics. It seems to me that when a man like Adlai Stevenson is charged by a man like McCarthy that he (Stevenson) is using communist methods, the obvious reply should be that we in America want no Franco methods. If popularity were given to the slogan, "We want no Franco methods in America"—illustrating those methods by showing the persecution of Protestants—the American people might wake up and dimly realize what all this bugaboo about communism really means.

Africanus

Beginning of decline?

RICHMOND, CALIF.

The decline of the Republic began probably with the Railway Act of July 2, 1864. Subsidies were as high as $32,000 per mile with land grants of 200,000,000 acres. The subsidies went far toward building the roads and built multi-millionaires. The land grants created a landed aristocracy. The roads should have been built as national enterprise and not as the foundation of a financial nobility. Now the national oil resources are being allocated to the same class, together with water and electrical power, minerals, timber, etc. The people's Republic has been transformed into an empire of the wealthy.

Are we to campaign with the corporations' press, radio, TV, halls, etc.? Our people seem to be asleep. They are so indifferent half of them do not vote.

J. M. McCullogh

The California campaign

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Without having consciously entered into the debate on tactics, Isobel Cerney, our California IPP candidate for the U.S. Senate, has supplied the genuine alternative: a fighting campaign for peace, for jobs and citizenship rights for all. Not one Republican or Democratic candidate for state or national office has dared to touch the roaring issues. As Edgar Lee Masters said: "Peas in a dry pod, tick tick, tick!"

Wherever Mrs. Cerney goes with her challenging call she gets response! If we can involve enough progressives in her campaign—yes, even at the expense of lessened activity at coaching Democrats in good manners—I predict she will poll more than a million votes. The people are sick and tired of the double talk of the Old Party leaders. They want some one to tell them about the issues of life—and death! **Reuben W. Borough**

Speak Out!

CHICAGO, ILL.

Speak out! For silence is not now the mark
of men. Speak out! For silence hold no peace.
Speak now, or let an ape-like evil fleece
your mind of thoughts and cast it into dark.
For there are devils pulling life with fear,
and demons running rampant in our land
with clamps for mouths held in each puffy hand
to choke whatever sane voice they may hear.
Speak out, for madmen now monopolize
the floor, and bully all who will not hate.
They seize the flag and stuff it in men's eyes.
Love, beauty, reason fall before the gait
of these gorillas who with heavy breath
would grab and choke all sanity to death!

Fred Adams

Guatemala: The land, the people, the army

By Elmer Bendiner

FORTY-EIGHT hours after the invasion of Guatemala, the heavily-armed soldiers of Castillo Armas had penetrated only 10 miles inside the country from the Honduras border. Their one confirmed victory was the capture of La Florida, a border village with a population of about 100. Guatemalan government sources said that a detachment of five armed men could have taken it.

Before the invaders lay a country roughly the size and population of Tennessee (approx. 42,000 sq. miles, 3,000,000 people.) Its dense tropical jungle and soaring green mountains (up to 13,000 feet) are imposing barriers that make tanks or even trucks almost useless.

If this natural fortress is manned by a citizen army, part guerrilla and part regular, it would take much more than the 5,000 troops of Castillo Armas—even if eventually supported by the armed forces of Nicaragua and Honduras—to fight their way to the capital.

PUERTO BARRIOS: There is only one corridor to the capital and the key to it is Puerto Barrios, the country's only port on the Atlantic. Until recently it was a company town, its docks, railroads, offices and most of its stores owned or leased by the United Fruit Co. Most of its inhabitants work for United Fruit and live in shacks leased from the company. A railroad, owned by a United Fruit subsidiary, runs from the port to the capital.

Puerto Barrios lies at the edge of the jungle. For the last three years the army has been hacking out a highway (at times with only machetes in their hands) to parallel the United Fruit's railway and break the company's strangle-hold on the nation's transportation lines. Only a small section of the highway has been built.

If the invaders do not capture the port there is no other plausible overland access to the capital from the east. If they do take it, the invaders would still find traveling rough through canyons on mule or on a railroad track that could easily be cut. However, the country's commerce flows through Puerto Barrios and the economy conceivably could be strangled at the port.

THE ARMY: Another highway runs to the capital from Tapachula, Mexico, in the west; but Mexico is unlikely to lend itself to the invaders as a jumping off point. The road can be intersected from the east at a point about 40 miles from El Salvador. Most of it is generally usable but unpaved, and in the rainy season that has now set in an army could well be bogged down in the hills long before it hit the paved stretch about 50 miles from the capital.

Photo by Gay

IN A CORNFIELD IN THE VILLAGE OF SANTA MARIA CAUQUE
The GUARDIAN's Elmer Bendiner (l.), who passed several months in Guatemala on a reporting assignment in 1952, talks with the chief of the village (rear c.) about land reform and schools. Around him are the chief's family.

More than mountains lie between the invaders and victory. Guatemala's army has been estimated at 6,000. In a 1953 message to Guatemala's Congress, President Arbenz said that another 15,595 had been listed as "ready for military service" and 385 for "auxiliary service." Castillo Armas' troops are officially estimated at 5,000, those of Honduras at 2,500, Nicaragua, 3,500.

Guatemala has a small but well-trained air force flying U.S.-built medium bombers, training pursuit planes and light transports, most of World War II vintage.

ENTIRELY REBUILT: Unlike many Central American armies the Guatemalan troops are not mercenaries up for hire to any adventurer itching for a coup. In the revolution of 1944-45, the Guatemalan army was cleaned out and rebuilt from scratch. The generalissimos went over the border and since then no one has topped the rank of colonel. The police force of Dictator Ubico was so violently distrusted that it was virtually disbanded and for months after the revolution boy scouts had to be drafted into service to direct traffic.

The army grew up with the revolution. In 10 years there have been over 30 attempts to overthrow the government. At no time have more than a handful of officers joined any plot, though bids for such support ran high.

It is a peacetime army, untested in war, but its energies have not been spent exclusively in drills, parades and maneuvers. In 1953 Arbenz noted the "happy circumstance" that throughout the country there were "no incidents to disturb public tranquility and that all parts of the Republic enjoyed complete peace and tranquility."

MINUTE MEN: The army went to work on the highway to Puerto Barrios, joined the campaign against illiteracy in its own ranks and among the people, showed movies and played concerts in the villages, published three magazines and ran sports tournaments.

Under the dictatorship and throughout Guatemala's history back to the conquest the army had always been regarded as an occupying force, the palace guard of the dictator, the strong-arm men of the tax collector. For the first time Guatemalans now have an army they do not hate.

Though some defections from the officer corps might be expected, it seemed unlikely that any large segments of the army would turn. There were indications last week that the regular army was not alone in defending the country. U.S. Ambassador Peurifoy asked Foreign Minister Toriello to facilitate the evacuation of U.S. nationals. Toriello said he could not guarantee their safety traveling overland because the roads would be patrolled by armed farmers.

NEXT WEEK

United Fruit Co.

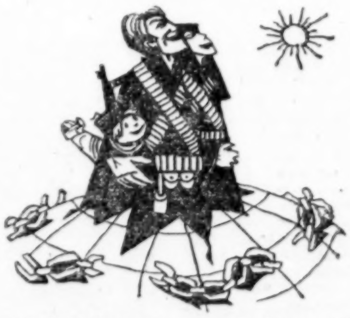
- **The power behind it**
- **Its government links**
- **How it does its work**

In many villages and towns defense brigades have been formed by banana and tobacco workers, unions, the Democratic Youth Alliance and other groups.

LAND REFORM: Reasons for the confidence lie in the Arbenz administration's record. In one year of the land reform it has distributed 612,000 acres to 55,734 farmers, and some 400,000 acres are still to be allotted. The farmers have been given credit for seed and machinery. Since the revolution, wages for some 109,000 union members have been at least doubled. Some 235,000 are covered by a social security program including medical care. More schools have been built during the Arevalo and Arbenz administrations than in all previous administrations combined.

Under the dictatorship patriotism was hushed; the national anthem was intoned ceremoniously on state occasions only. Now, 10 years after the revolution, the feeling of nationhood is a new and vigorous phenomenon in Guatemala. Where Independence Day (Sept. 17) was once observed by a military parade and a solemn speech from the dictator, it is now a 24-hour fiesta.

THE HERITAGE: The invaders have still another significant obstacle. Guatemala is an Indian country. (Only 5% are without Indian ancestry—almost three-fourths are pure Indian.) Their memories of the Spanish invaders are still strong; they speak of them as the "tronchadores" (back-breakers). It took a whole program, from land reform to literacy classes, to rid the Arevalo-Arbenz administrations of that stigma. Castillo Armas would have a hard job dodging it during his invasion.



With the army and the people as obstinately on the side of the government as the mountains and the jungle, it would clearly take a massive air assault or a strangling blockade to defeat Guatemala. These could be effected only by the U.S. and against that course was the pressure of American opinion from Cape Horn to Hudson Bay.

THE GLOATING WAS NOT CONCEALED

What the press said about the invasion

First press reaction to the invasion of Guatemala was poorly-concealed glee, tempered by some uneasiness as to world public opinion. The word "invader" was rarely used. Editorials denying the attack was an invasion contradicted reports from correspondents at invasion points in Honduras. An underlying theme was: This is strictly an American affair. Abroad, the non-Communist press was far more worried, urged Washington "not to cheer too strongly for the exiles" (Reuters, 6/21), asked for swift UN action. Below is a sampling of press opinion:

N. Y. TIMES (editorial 6/20): It would be dangerously inconsistent for our Government to welcome any revolution in Latin America achieved principally by troops moving in from neighboring states. . . . We need not, however, conceal our satisfaction if what is happening now in Guatemala were to result in a new trend toward democracy. . . .

N. Y. HERALD TRIBUNE (editorial 6/20): Unless there is constant vigilance and united action by the free American nations, there could be another Korea, another Indo-China, in Central America—a wasting war of raids and ambushes, barring all hope of reasonable solutions. . . .

N. Y. MIRROR (editorial 6/21): [The Arbenz government] looks, talks, and acts like a Communist government and therefore it IS a Communist government. . . . Fortunately . . . the revolutionary forces now contesting Guatemala's rule are composed of liberal and liberty-loving exiles. . . .

N. Y. WORLD-TELEGRAM & SUN (editorial 6/21): . . . The insurgents in Guatemala have our support, but on a showdown they may find that moral support is a poor substitute for bullets. The Reds use more persuasive weapons and we may have to.

UNITED PRESS in **WT&S** (6/19) Congressional leaders and U.S. diplomats expressed fervent hope for the success of the anti-Communist rebellion. . . . Diplomatic officials made no effort to hide their pleasure.

N. Y. POST (editorial 6/21): We have plainly encouraged the rebels, and we render ourselves a trifle ludicrous by joining in a solemn call for a "cease-fire" as they start marching. . . . What men everywhere will ask is whether the "Army of Liberation" flies the flag of freedom or the tarnished emblem of United Fruit.

WASHINGTON POST (editorial 6/21): Armed revolt is at best a dangerous precedent in Latin America, and the present situation is sufficiently delicate to warrant a strictly hands-off attitude.

WALL ST. JOURNAL (editorial 6/22): We do not suggest that the U.S. should actively aid the uprising . . . but we see no reason either why the U.S. should vote [in the UN] for a resolution which has the effect of giving aid and comfort to Guatemalan and Soviet Communists.

YORK (Pa.) GAZETTE & DAILY (editorial 6/21): Apparently . . . we have just about reached the point where aggression is not aggression if it is exercised against a democratically-elected government whose policies and tendencies we do not choose to like. . . . If we do not wish to completely reverse the stand we took at the beginning of hostilities in Korea . . . we would at once denounce the aggressors in Guatemala and use every means at our disposal to counter them. . . .

AN EDITORIAL STATEMENT

Hands off Guatemala!

THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN of June 28, 1950, carried this headline on p. 1: THE WAR IN KOREA—THE REAL FACTS. That issue was given over largely to a report on the outbreak of the war in Korea and the role of the U.S. It also reported an extraordinary Sunday session of the UN Security Council, which was pressured by Washington into sanctioning intervention in Korea.

Four years later to the day, the GUARDIAN is devoting most of the issue of June 28, 1954, to the real facts on another war: the invasion of the Republic of Guatemala. Herein is detailed the background to the war, the efforts of a tiny democracy to end feudal slavery, and the role of the U.S. government in helping an arrogant American corporation's campaign to crush those efforts.

Reported here too is another extraordinary session of the UN Security Council. But there is a difference. Four years ago the delegate of the Soviet Union and the delegates of nations friendly to her had absented themselves to protest the presence of the delegate from Formosa (not a member) as the representative of China. No North Koreans were present.

Last Sunday the Guatemalan delegate was there—and he called a spade a spade. For the U.S., delegate Lodge delivered an apoplectic defense of President Eisenhower (he was golfing at Quantico), Secy. Dulles (he was fishing upstate New York) and the U.S. Senate (they were planning a sneak play to jam through Congress Atty. General Brownell's police-state bills).

EVEN AS THE CORRESPONDENT of the N.Y. Times was filing dispatches from the invaders' jumping-off point in Honduras, Lodge said there was no invasion. Even as planes made-in-the-U.S.A. were bombing Viet Nam, he thundered at a fellow UN member to stay out of the Western Hemisphere. One after another representatives of the "safe" Latin American dictatorships expressed shock that their Guatemalan cousins should suspect them of complicity; they held their empty palms face out for all the world to see their hypocrisy.

They tried, with Lodge's help, to kill the debate in the UN, but they did not succeed. There was a reason: through the tension, the improvised speeches, the hints of unspoken matters, a new element was making itself felt. In the four years since the senseless war in Korea and Part II of the dirty war in Indo-China there have been changes:

The armies of the U.S. and of France have been fought to a standstill, or defeated. India has refused to become a pawn in colonial politics. A fresh wind is blowing in France. The people of Britain are angry. Western Germany is looking east—for alliance. China has come of age. And the American people are painfully starting on the road back to sanity.

Has Washington's failure to prop up the despicable putty figures of Syngman Rhee and Bao Dai forced it to turn to the dime-store Hitlers of our own hemisphere for "victories"? Do the fashioners of its policy imagine they can bamboozle the people as they did four years ago? There are too many Korean gold stars in American homes for that; too many people have heard S. Korean Ambassador Ben C. Limb admit the truth of what the GUARDIAN said on June 28, 1950—making liars of the American war parties and 99.9% of the American press.

MENE MENE TEKEL—the handwriting is on the wall, as it was for Belshazzar. The moving fingers are those of the people who are determined to live as they choose to live. The time of slaveocracy is past—in America as well as in Asia.

We do not agree that this is strictly an American affair—as the Hearst press bellows. But we do agree that it is very close to home. The voices that will finally determine the destiny of the Americas will be American voices. Then let us in America, while there is time, tell our government with one voice:

"HANDS OFF GUATEMALA!"

—The Editors

Facts on Guatemala

(Continued from Page 1)

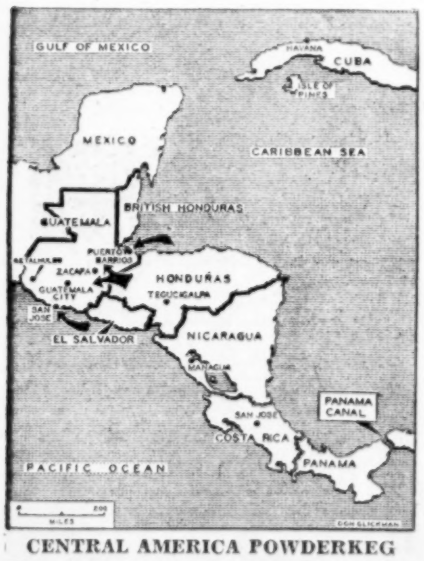
documents showed letters from Castillo Armas, a former colonel in the Guatemalan army, to Col. Somoza Debayle, son of Nicaragua's president. In one of these Castillo Armas wrote:

> "The government of the north recognized the impossibility of any other solution to the grave problem of my country, has taken the decision to let us go ahead with our plans."

Preparations for the invasion were referred to in the letters as "Operation Diablo."

HEMISPHERIC SAVIORS: A retired U.S. Army Col., Carl Studer, was said to be supervising the training. U.S. newspapers scoffed at the plot story. The invasion did not come off. In the spring the thunder rolled again in the U.S. Guatemala was denounced as "a beachhead of communism." On TV screens "documentaries" showed marching soldiers in Honduras, Nicaragua and El Salvador—"fully equipped by the U.S." They were depicted as the saviors of the hemisphere.

In March the Organization of American States, a regional group under the UN, met in Caracas, Venezuela. The U.S. delegation made its purpose plain: to indict Guatemala and invoke sanctions. It settled for a resolution that did not mention Guatemala at all, warned against communism in general. Mexico and Argentina abstained. Many of those who went along stated their misgivings.



CENTRAL AMERICA POWDERKEG

This map shows Guatemala's relation to the other Central American states, the jumping off point of the invaders in Honduras, the key port of Puerto Barrios and the Pacific port at San Jose.

DIPLOMACY OR DEVIL: In May U.S. envoys in Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua were called to Washington to confer on "implementing" the Caracas resolutions. The State Dept.'s problem: to carry the assault against Guatemala by diplomacy or by "Operation Diablo."

At first the U.S. seemed to lean toward diplomacy. It raised a world-wide commotion over 2,000 tons of arms delivered to Guatemala reportedly from a socialist country, denounced it as a threat to the hemisphere and called for a special session of the OAS by the end of June. It was certain to win the required majority of the OAS to support the call but Latin American reactions indicated clearly that the U.S. could expect little more than another resolution. Sidney Gruson (NYT 6/7) reported from Mexico:

> "It will be difficult to get a sufficient number of Latin-American republics to go further at this stage. The information here is that many of them have agreed to a meeting with considerable reluctance. . . . The first reaction of many Latin countries to the arms transaction was that Guatemala had acted normally, especially since the U.S. had refused to sell her arms and had used its influence to bar purchases in other non-communist countries."

RETURN TO SENDER: The U.S. then seemed to drop diplomacy. On May 15 a Swedish freighter was stopped at Hamburg and arms destined for Guatemala from Switzerland were returned to the sender. A Dutch ship with a similar cargo was stopped at Puerto Rico.

In the past blockades were acts of war. The U.S. pressed its blockade politely, asked friendly powers for permission to search their ships at sea and seize military cargoes bound for Guatemala. (For British reaction, see WAR & PEACE, p. 6.)

While the U.S. stepped up arms shipments to Guatemala's neighbors, Nicaragua on May 19 broke off diplomatic relations with Guatemala. From Honduras Castillo Armas stepped up radio broadcasts calling on Guatemalans to overthrow their government, promising: "I will soon be at your side."

On May 26 and June 7 planes flew over Guatemala and dropped anti-government leaflets. On June 14 planes dropped arms and ammunition at Tiquisate, headquarters of a United Fruit subsidiary. Farmers picked them up, turned them over to the government.

WHITE HOUSE "NO": With the storm about to break, Guatemala's President Arbenz sought a personal interview with Mr. Eisenhower and was turned down. On the night of June 18 a passenger train running from Puerto Barrios to the capital was machine-gunned from the air. "Operation Diablo" was on—and its course followed to the letter the blueprint revealed by the Guatemalan government last January. In the national palace Foreign Minister Toriello told reporters:

PRESIDENT ARBENZ & SON

The nation rallied behind him

> "At this moment our country is under attack. . . . We will not retreat one step from our position, our program, because it is a just one."

On the morning of June 19 U.S.-made P-47's strafed the capital and a child on a rooftop was among the first casualties of the war. Other planes parachuted arms which the farmers quickly rounded up and handed to the authorities. Guatemalan diplomats acidly thanked the U.S. for these.

NO PROVOCATION: The invaders quickly seized several villages close to the Honduran border; they met little resistance. The government calmly explained that it would not be drawn into fighting near the border so that either Honduras or El Salvador could interpret a border action as Guatemalan aggression. Guatemalan authorities wanted the record to be clear: it was resisting an invasion, not making war beyond its borders.

In a house rented from a university official in Copan, Honduras, four miles from the Guatemalan border, Castillo Armas signed communiques, edicts, manifestos. Correspondents agreed in terming the place the "invasion headquarters." (The term did not gibe with the official U.S. view that this was a revolution of "Guatemalans against Guatemalans.")

AID AND COMFORT: Under banners inscribed "God and Honor," Castillo Armas' chief of information told newsmen the movement had drawn 'some hope and optimism" from U.S. policy. The State Dept. denied that the invaders had drawn anything else, such as the arms rushed to Honduras and Nicaragua since May.

Each day the invasion headquarters predicted victory within 36 hours, sometimes 48 hours. Days passed with military gains limited to frontier skirmishes, with no sign of an uprising or military defeatism within the country.

AMERICAN FLIERS: Martial law was declared but the government said it saw no need to call up the reserves in a general mobilization. A government communique said that the Army was moving up to attack the invaders at Gualan, between the border and the railroad junction of Zacapa. Some street fighting was reported in or near Puerto Barrios. The communique said that one of the aircraft that had raided the capital was hit by anti-aircraft fire and had crash-landed at Tapachula, Mexico, where two American crew members were interned.

On June 23, after five days of fruitless war, the invaders' hopes lay in broadening the conflict. Though Guatemala had scrupulously avoided provocations near the border, Honduras claimed that Santa Rosa de Copan, a small village 21 miles inside Honduras, had been bombed by unidentified planes. A charge of Guatemalan "aggression" was plainly in the making.

At the same time Castillo Armas moved his headquarters over the Guatemalan border, proclaimed himself "Provisional President," and announced that he would send a delegation to the UN. His radio spokesmen told the Guatemalan Congress and judiciary they were dissolved.

—ELMER BENDINER

Action at Home

The American Peace Crusade scheduled a mass "peace vigil" outside UN headquarters for June 24. Progressive Party Secy. C. B. Baldwin in a letter to Eisenhower, wrote:

> "This unprovoked aggression against a peaceful nation has been organized and launched at least with the blessing and encouragement of officials of your administration. Bland State Dept. denials of efforts of aggression cannot hide these simple and well documented truths, but serve only to make a mockery of its protestations of support for freely-elected governments everywhere."

The national council of the Labor Youth League wired its protests to the President and a message of solidarity to Democratic Youth Alliance of Guatemala.

United Nations

(Continued from Page 1)

duras with responsibility. He asked the Council to send peace observers to Guatemala and elsewhere if need be, and to warn the governments of Honduras and Nicaragua.

TO END BLOODSHED: After pious declarations of surprise from Nicaragua, Honduras, Brazil and Colombia urging that the matter be turned over to the OAS, French delegate Henri Hoppenot provided the day's first shock. He said he had no objection to Brazil's resolution, but pointed out that, nonetheless, the Council still had "an immediate responsibility." Therefore, he offered this amendment: That the Council call for an end to all actions that might lead to further bloodshed and loss of life and urge all nations to abstain from granting aid to such activities.

Warm words of praise for this amendment (which Brazil accepted) came, in turn, from Brazil, Colombia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom. At the same time, with a bland disregard for Guatemala's argument that, under the Charter, aggression could not be referred to a regional organization, they all supported the referral to the OAS. Guatemala welcomed the French amendment, renewed its objections to the Brazil resolution, emphasized that Guatemala was the clear victim of aggression. The U. S. S. R. supported this argument, declared that OAS "is dominated by the U. S.," which, it charged, was directly responsible for the invasion. Guatemala could be completely crushed, said Soviet delegate Semyon Tsarapkin, while the OAS was debating the question.

HOW TO AVOID ZERO: With this clear indication of a Soviet veto, Lebanon's Dr. Charles Malik declared that it would be regrettable from the point of view of the authority and dignity of the Security Council "if this meeting ended with no decision at all." Pointing to the French amendment as a way to "avoid ending with zero," he proposed that—without impairing the jurisdiction of OAS—the resolution be voted on paragraph by paragraph, or that the paragraph on referral to the OAS be omitted. Either procedure would permit a separate vote on the French amendment.

Lodge, whose discomfiture had grown as the debate progressed, had a hasty huddle with Brazil, then said Brazil opposed any such move. But Malik was undaunted. He requested the floor to ask the French delegate whether, in the event the joint resolution was not adopted, he would be ready to submit his amendment as a separate proposal. There was a silence. It was as though all present sensed that the answer would indicate whether France had a new policy. Hoppenot leaned forward and said: "Oui."

UNANIMOUS VOTE: Lodge gave vent to his anger a few moments later in a bitter, emotional tirade against the U. S. S. R. and all its works, including its alleged designs on the Western Hemisphere. But the outburst was of no avail. Tsarapkin called it a verbal maneuver to draw attention away from the question at issue. Since nearly all other delegates had praised the French resolution (when it was part of a resolution they expected to be vetoed) they could hardly vote against it now. Thus, by unanimous vote, the Council called for a cease-fire in Guatemala.

In the explanation of votes that followed, Lodge deprecated the importance of the resolution, virtually termed it meaningless. But Malik and Tsarapkin insisted on its importance.

Three days later Guatemala charged that the resolution had not taken effect, called for a second Council session. Lodge warned Guatemala that pressing the matter would be the act of a Soviet "catspaw" and said many would suspect the whole "imbroglio" was "cooked up" as a propaganda step. It seemed unlikely, however, that Lodge could refuse to call a second session, though it would constitute another Guatemalan diplomatic victory by affirming that this is an international, not a civil, conflict.

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WAR & PEACE

Washington's role in the invasion of Guatemala

WASHINGTON'S long campaign against the New Deal government of Guatemala erupted into violence three days after Secy. of State Dulles called on Guatemalans to clean "their own house." This appeal came on the heels of numerous U.S. press reports to the effect that "the U.S. is determined to bring about a change" in the Guatemalan government (**Christian Science Monitor, 6/18**).

American correspondents made little effort to hide Washington's complicity. James Reston (**N.Y. Times, 6/20**) involved Allen Dulles' Central Intelligence Agency. He wrote:

> "If somebody wants to start a revolution against the Communists in, say, Guatemala, it is no good talking to Foster Dulles. But Allen Dulles, head of the CIA, is a more active man. He has been watching the Guatemalan situation for a long time."

BITTER FRUIT: Last March 16, Sen. Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.), in a Senate speech on CIA's far-flung operations, charged an "abortive effort by CIA undercover men to start a revolution in Guatemala." The N.Y. **Post's** Max Lerner suggested the revolt is being financed by the United Fruit Co. and the big coffee plantation owners. He said (6/20) it would not have been undertaken "without the active support of the U.S.":

> ". . . When I was in Guatemala it was common knowledge . . . that American interests were involved. . . . As one extremely well-informed observer put it to me: 'We are up to our necks in this stuff.'"

Behind Washington's hostility to Guatemala lay the land and labor reforms of the Arbenz Guzman government and their magnetic appeal throughout poverty-ridden Central America. The invasion is clearly designed as an object lesson to the rest of Latin America. State Dept. officials in effect admitted this by noting (**NYT 6/21**) that

> ". . . the situations that provided the Guatemalan Communists with their rallying cries, and on which they built their strength, are duplicated over and over again in other parts of Latin America."

A recent State Dept. survey of "communism" in Latin America mentioned Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, Mexico, Panama and Peru as possible trouble areas.

BULLETS—NO BUTTER: Washington's recent hullabaloo over an arms shipment to Guatemala "from behind the Iron Curtain" betrayed another concern: the growing Latin American drive for trade with the socialist world. This campaign—evident in the exchange of economic missions with Moscow, and Argentine and Brazilian trade pacts with the U.S.S.R.—grows out of Latin America's intensifying economic crisis. For this the U.S. has offered no solution. Largely dependent on the U.S., Latin America's economy has suffered increasingly from U.S. trade policies and military preoccupation.

The "reeling West"

The move against Guatemala came at a time when, as **Business Week** reported (6/19), "the West is reeling" in Europe and Asia. If it was intended to demonstrate the effectiveness of Washington's "strong policy," it seemed doomed to failure. For, whatever happens in Guatemala, this move could only intensify the over-all crisis of U.S. policy, reinforce Latin American resentment against "Yankee imperialism," and cause throughout that area the same turning away from the U.S. now so apparent in W. Europe and Asia.

STORM IN BRITAIN: U.S.-British relations were worsened by Washington's demand for the right to search ships at sea to enforce an arms embargo against Guatemala. Few U.S. acts, said **NYT** (6/19), have awakened such "immediate and outspoken criticism" in seafaring Britain. Some comment: "Inept diplomacy," "arrogant," "worth 100,000 votes to Nye Bevan." Britain's press strongly criticized U.S. policy toward Guatemala. The London **Times** said "there is much sympathy for Guatemalans" elsewhere on the continent. The Manchester **Guardian,** referring to "The New Colonialism," reported "independent European observers on the spot . . . by no means convinced" of communist conspiracy in Guatemala. It asserted that Guatemala "has the right to have a left-wing government if it wants to." In Parliament Labour M.P.'s supported Guatemala, demanded that the government censure Honduras and Nicaragua.

On the eve of the Churchill-Eisenhower talks, allied distrust of U.S. leadership, already high because of Indo-China, was fed by the Guatemalan explosion. This coincided with developments in Britain and France which were pushing both governments toward negotiated settlements with the socialist world.

GENEVA AFTERMATH: The Washington visit of Churchill and Foreign Secy. Eden has been characterized here as a British move to reassert its support of U.S. policy. But there was little evidence to support this view. Britain and China were about to establish full diplomatic relations as a result of talks in Geneva. Trade missions were to be exchanged. The British press predicted "drastic cuts" soon in the list of goods Britain is now forbidden to sell to the East.

At Geneva, Eden threatened to break off the Indo-China talks, then jumped at Chinese concessions on Laos and Cambodia. Despite U.S. opposition, he asked that the talks go on. They will continue because of what the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** (6/21) called "an unprecedented French-British-Russian-Chinese agreement over the head of the American delegation." In the American view, it added,

> ". . . the door has been opened to the type of appeasement-minded dealing with the Communists which the American government sought to avoid here."

FRENCH-CHINESE TALKS: On June 24 France's new Premier Mendes-France met in Bern with China's Premier Chou En-lai for cease-fire talks. A British move to align the new French government with London's efforts to temper U.S. policy in Asia was evident in Eden's emphasis on British-French friendship after a Paris meeting with the new Premier.

Chou, who remained in Geneva several days after other top-ranking delegates had left, held direct talks with Laos and Cambodia. These appeared designed to insure the neutrality of these two states in the event of a settlement.

Topics in Washington

Two major subjects of the Anglo-American talks are Southeast Asia and Germany. The Mendes-France victory improved prospects for ending the Indo-China war. It also undercut Washington's efforts to maneuver UN intervention in Southeast Asia through Thailand's appeal for a Peace Observation Commission. The Soviet Union vetoed the Thai request in the Security Council. U.S. delegate Lodge indicated that the question would be brought before a special session of the UN Assembly; but no immediate action could be taken in view of the Mendes-France pledge to end the war in 30 days or resign. Similarly, new difficulties were created for Washington's Southeast Asia Pact. The Paris **Le Monde** pointed out (6/17) that Anglo-American differences would mount if and when actual negotiations began on such a pact.

GERMAN SPOTLIGHT: London and Washington have received urgent messages from the Bonn government about its "delicate position" as a result of the long delay in ratifying the European Defense Community. Both faced the tough problem of trying to salvage their German policy. The Churchill government, on the one hand, feared a possible Soviet-German rapprochement; on the other, it faced a growing popular revolt against German rearmament. This may reverse Labour Party support for it at the party's annual conference in Sept.

Churchill was pressing for an alternative to EDC (which Britain considers dead) even as Washington cut off aid to France and Italy until they ratified EDC and President Eisenhower pressed French President Coty for quick French ratification. But Washington too was looking—without success—for alternatives.

But the chief problem at Washington will be France—uninvited, though its interest in Southeast Asia and Germany is as great as if not greater than that of Britain and the U.S. France's absence—a "new proof of the decay of the entente cordiale," the French commentator Pertinax wrote (**France Soir,** 6/17)—marked a significant change in the Western alliance.

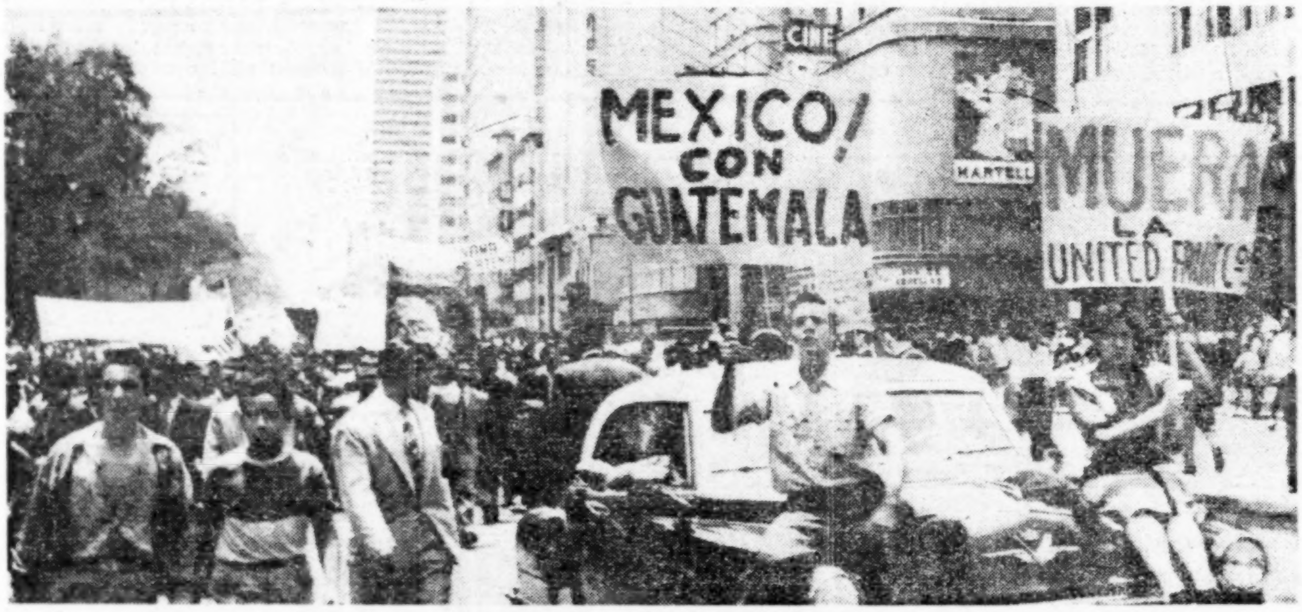
THE NEW PREMIER: Mendes-France's 419-47 victory was regarded in Washington as "the biggest political surprise in West European post-war history" (**UP,** 6/18). Contradictory statements from the capital showed that it did not know which way he'd turn.

On the record, Mendes-France has strongly opposed internationalizing the Indo-China war, urged direct negotiations with the Viet Minh, promised a quick, "honorable" peace. But he was faced by the fact that a peace based on realities in Indo-China is not likely to be considered "honorable" in some influential French circles.

His views on German rearmament and EDC are less clear. On the record, he favors the Atlantic Alliance and some form of German rearmament. He wants to make changes, largely unspecified, in EDC to make it palatable to his people. On the record, he promises to cut down France's international commitments and live within French means under an "austerity" program.

The fact that he will be his own foreign minister (his cabinet is composed largely of Gaullists and independent rightists) is significant. For the first time since 1947 French foreign policy will not be in the hands of the strongly pro-American Catholic MRP. That Mendes-France would attempt to steer a more independent policy seemed clear. This fact cast a long shadow over Washington's foreign policy.

—**Tabitha Petran**



HOW THE STUDENTS OF MEXICO FEEL ABOUT THE AGGRESSION AGAINST GUATEMALA

Four thousand students paraded through the streets of Mexico City on June 16 bearing signs reading "Mexico with Guatemala" and "Death to the United Fruit Co."

How Latin Americans reacted

In many American countries, reaction to the invasion of Guatemala was prompt; it was registered in mass demonstrations and in at least one official denunciation. This is a sampling:

URUGUAY: Chamber of Deputies, by a two vote margin, adopted a Socialist motion condemning the attacks as "aggression." Students struck.

ARGENTINA: Students demonstrated. The semi-official **La Epoca** held the U.S. responsible for the attack.

CHILE: Large crowds of students and workers burned President Eisenhower in effigy, stoned the newspaper offices of **El Mercurio,** which had tried to pin the blame on Guatemala and Moscow.

CUBA: While Minister Without Portfolio Ernesto de la Fe called for recognition of the Armas regime, demonstrators stoned offices of the **UP** and the Cuban Electric Co.

ECUADOR: Students began enrolling "volunteers to defend Guatemala."

MEXICO: Mass rallies in sympathy with Guatemala were held in market places and the University City. Statements of support flooded in.

THE GREATEST THREAT YET TO AMERICA'S CIVIL LIBERTIES

Big push is on for Brownell's police-state bills; Action at once is necessary to block their passage

By Lawrence Emery

THE EISENHOWER Administration has submitted to the 83d Congress some 200 proposals, of which no more than a handful have been enacted. When the 83d Congress adjourns (the target date is now July 31) it will go out of business for good and will be replaced in January by a new 84th Congress; all measures still pending before it will die.

A chief concern of Eisenhower today is to achieve a better record of bills passed than he can now claim. Early this month he announced that his legislative program is a "must" upon which he intends to lavish his exclusive attention. All the heat the Administration can now generate is being turned upon Congress for speedy action. And, as Republican pundit Roscoe Drummond pointed out last week, "anything can happen in the closing days, even in the closing hours of a Congress eager to get home."

ACT TODAY

In Washington the big push is on to pass Atty. Gen. Brownell's package of bills to destroy unions and civil liberties. All the weight of the White House is behind the effort to make the bills law before this session of Congress ends. The strategy: to get the bills up for floor action quietly and swiftly before the country is alerted to the danger.

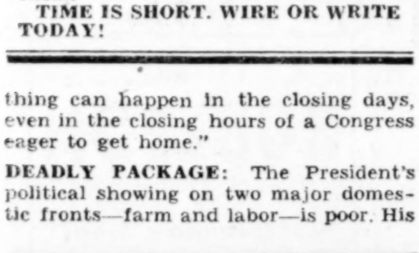
Wire or write today to your own Congressmen and to Chairman William Langer of the Senate Judiciary Committee and Chairman Chauncey Reed of the House Judiciary Committee. Demand full committee hearings on the Brownell and related measures and a "No" vote on all of them.

TIME IS SHORT. WIRE OR WRITE TODAY!

They dropped red roses on two graves

"This is holy ground," said Rabbi Meyer Sharff at the ceremony June 20 marking the first anniversary of the death of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. Three hundred persons gathered under a hot sun at Pinelawn Cemetery on Long Island to pay homage. There was no headstone yet. In its concern over vandalism the cemetery has held off in granting permission to raise the headstone, but it is expected to be placed soon. On June 18, 2,500 persons overflowed a memorial meeting for the Rosenbergs in Manhattan's Chateau Gardens.

DEADLY PACKAGE: The President's political showing on two major domestic fronts—farm and labor—is poor. His program of amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act has been defeated and there is small chance this year for enactment of his plan for reduced price supports for farm products. To counteract such total failures, the Administration is now concentrating in these last days of the 83d Congress on the Eisenhower-Brownell package of bills against "subversion."



Detroit News

SHEEP'S CLOTHING

On June 10 Eisenhower in a nationwide broadcast plumped for the package which, he said, "now awaits the Congressional approval. I know that all of us, too, await that approval." On June 18 Brownell and one of his assistants met with the Senate Republican Policy Committee, which agreed "to speed action" on the Brownell ten-point program, which includes governmental power to liquidate "Communist-infiltrated" businesses and unions, and authority for employers to fire from private industry persons suspected of "subversive" tendencies.

McCARRAN'S SLEEPER: By some unexplained skulduggery, the Administration has eliminated the hazard that the union-busting bill may not reach Congress by failure of a committee to report it out. On June 7 Chairman William Langer (R--N.D.) of the Senate Judiciary Committee reported 18 bills approved. Seventeen of them were inconsequential routine measures. But the 18th was a measure drafted some time ago by Sen. Pat McCarran (D-Nev.) which has long been gathering dust; it would make it unlawful for a member of any organization deemed to be "communist" to hold office in or be employed by any trade union, and it would authorize the discharge from employment of any persons named as members of any one of the 256 organizations listed by Brownell as "subversive."

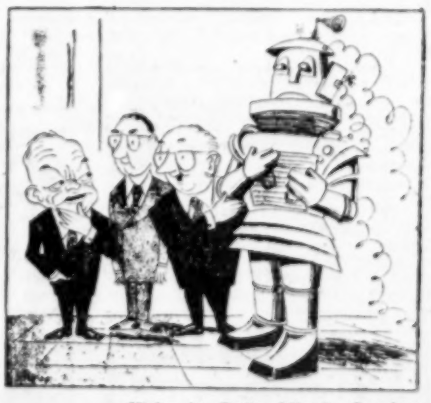
This bill may now be called up for floor action in the Senate any time Majority Leader William Knowland (Calif.) may decide. Once on the floor, any other similar bill, including Brownell's, may be offered as an amendment or a substitute without prior committee approval. Sen. Langer had no satisfactory explanation of how the McCarran bill slipped through his committee, but Russ Nixon, legislative representative of the independent United Electrical Workers Union, said in a letter to the Senator:

> "Unfortunately there is very serious reason to believe that the action of reporting S23 [the McCarran bill] did not follow regular Committee procedure, but instead was achieved as a maneuver on the part of those pushing for this general type of anti-democratic, anti-labor legislation in a sneak play seeking to put the Senate in position to act on the Brownell-Ferguson bills without the safeguard of usual careful Judiciary Committee consideration."

LITTLE PROTEST: Action on the Brownell bills is also being pressed in the House. On June 2 Rep. Louis E. Graham (R-Pa.), chairman of a House Judiciary subcommittee, agreed to include on its immediate agenda most of the ten Brownell bills. On June 8 Brownell himself appeared before the subcommittee to argue for his measure to destroy the protection of the Fifth Amendment. June 23 was the date scheduled for the beginning of hearings on the measures; Graham indicated they may last only one or two days.

So far there has been little public protest against the Brownell program and related bills, like Rep. Katharine St. George's (R-N.Y.) measure directed against progressive publications (see box, this page). Most AFL and CIO unions consider the bills have little chance of passage in the remaining days of this Congress, but the signs are clear that a major effort will be made to rush them through.

Last week in New York City the UE and the independent Fur & Leather Workers Union invited all trade unions to participate in a shop stewards conference to be held at 5:30 p.m. on June 30 at Manhattan Center, 34th St. and Eighth Av. Both unions urged protests be sent to Sen. Langer and to Rep. Chauncey Reed (R-Ill.), chairman of the House Judiciary Committee.



Vicky in Daily Mirror, London

"Mr. President, meet the American scientist of tomorrow, loyal, no dangerous thoughts, no security risk!"

Censoring dissent

REPRESENTATIVE Katherine St. George has introduced, no doubt with patriotic intentions, a bill as profoundly un-American as an attempt to repeal the First Amendment. The stated purpose of her bill is "to prohibit the transmission through the mails at less than cost of publications, books, other printed matter, and films containing material contrary to the best interests of the United States." The measure would affect newspapers and magazines receiving the benefits of second-class mail rates, books and films which receive special postage rates and bulk material mailed as third-class matter.

What is meant by "material contrary to the best interests of the United States"? The bill offers no definition; neither does its author. If Senator McCarthy were Postmaster General, it would surely mean the denial of second- or third-class mail privileges to **Time** magazine, the New York **Herald Tribune**, the New York **Post**, the Milwaukee **Journal** and the Madison **Capital-Times**—not to mention The Washington **Post and Times Herald**—all of which the Senator at one time or another has called "communistic." It would require any Postmaster General to review the contents of all publications in order to determine whether they fell within the boundaries of Mrs. St. George's prohibition. It would impose a general censorship upon the expression of ideas and opinions through the printed word.

The First Amendment was designed to forbid just such censorship. Its authors believed that society had more to fear from suppression of ideas — even heretical ideas — than from expression of them. They believed that the best antidote to poisonous opinions lay in healthy opinions. The doctrine they embodied in the First Amendment's stricture against any law "abridging the freedom of speech, or the press" has been a source of strength to the American people and has served them well. It offers a better reliance for the future than any form of censorship.

Washington **Post** editorial,
June 16, 1954

WESLEY'S DEFINITION OF A METHODIST

A Methodist is one who lives according to the method laid down in the Bible. He is one who loves the Lord with all his heart, who prays without ceasing and in everything gives thanks. His heart is full of love to all mankind, and is purified from envy, malice, wrath and every unkind affection.

He keeps all God's commandments from the least unto the greatest. He follows not the customs of the world.

He cannot speak evil of his neighbor any more than he can lie. He does good unto all men, neighbors, friends and enemies.

These are the principles and practices of our sect. These are the marks of a true Methodist. By these alone, do Methodists desire to be distinguished from other men.

Note: Atty. General Herbert Brownell is a member of the Christ Methodist Church of New York.

"TOO DAMN MUCH"

Union fights 5th try to deport Bridges

FOUR TIMES in 20 years the U.S. government has tried and failed to find a way to deport Harry Bridges, Australian-born president of the West Coast Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union. Last week it was starting a fifth try. Said union secy.-treas. Louis Goldblatt: "We have had not only enough, but too damn much of this stuff."

Union locals up and down the coast agreed; most were on record unanimously in favor of an "indefinite stop-work meeting" if another case is brought to court.

Present efforts of the Dept. of Justice are based upon two suits, one criminal and one civil, filed against Bridges in 1948 charging that he obtained his citizenship fraudulently by swearing he has never been a member of the Communist Party. Bridges was tried on the criminal action; the Supreme Court threw the case out a year ago. On June 7 Asst. U.S. Atty. Lynn J. Gillard asked a Federal District Court in San Francisco to place the civil suit on the calendar for action.

MOTION TO DISMISS: On June 16 Bridges' attorney Richard Gladstein appeared before Federal Judge Oliver D. Hamlin Jr. and argued that "the matter on which this action is based has already been adjudged, time and time again." He was granted a stay until July 13 to prepare briefs supporting his motion to dismiss the suit.

The ILWU points out that Bridges has actually been cleared of the same charges five times by government agencies: in 1934, in 1936 and in 1939, and twice by the Supreme Court, once in 1945 and again in 1953. Said the union:

> "The members of the ILWU will stand solid to the last man to fight this unconscionable persecution. Just as five previous frame-ups were defeated so will this one be defeated."

Last February, when it was already apparent the government would try again, the union's executive board unanimously adopted a policy statement in which it said:

> "This persecution of Bridges is anti-unionism, pure and simple. . . . Today the policy of the U.S. Government is anti-union and anti-workingman. It is a policy which holds nothing but distress and disaster for the members of this union and their families."

★

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MEMORIAL SERVICE for Lillian Kee Larvanette, Sun., July 4, 3:30 p.m., Metropolitan Community Church, 41st & South Park.

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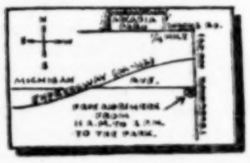

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NEW YORK

Moy gets 2-yr. term, China News is fined $25,000 for bank ads

By Ione Kramer

IN AN ACTION which may silence the only anti-Chiang Chinese-language newspaper in the U.S., Federal Court Judge Sylvester J. Ryan on June 17 imposed a fine of $25,000 on the **China Daily News,** and sentenced its editor, Eugene Moy, to two years in jail. The charge: extending credit of $150 and accepting payment of $180 for ads placed in the paper in 1951 by two Hong Kong banks offering to transmit money from overseas Chinese to their families on the mainland. This, the government said, constituted a violation of the Trading with the Enemy Act (GUARDIAN, 6/21).

Three laundry workers, Chin You Gon, Tom Sung and Chin Hong Ming were convicted of sending money to relatives in China. Sung's sentence was suspended; the others were sentenced to a year in jail. All are on bail, $2,500 for editor Moy, $1,000 for the others.

WEIGHT OF IDEAS: During the trial Judge Ryan had rejected the paper's editorials as part of the government's evidence; but at the time of sentencing, he stated he had to consider the paper's views to determine its "motive" because "ideas are often the motives that prompt evil acts." Before the sentence, Col. Wm. Esbitt, Asst. U. S. Attorney, said the government viewed the case as "serious" because the **China Daily News** was the "mouthpiece" for the Chinese People's Republic. He urged a heavy fine and prison term because putting dollars into the hands of the Communists "was more harmful than bullets." (Sending money to relatives is a time-honored Chinese custom. Before the new government, money from a working relative abroad was often the sole support of "overseas" families.)

THE REASON WHY: In a statement to the court, Mr. Moy declared:

"It is only because our newspaper's policy differs from the policy of certain other Chinese-language newspapers, and because we sometimes disagree with the present foreign policy of the Administration, that the government agencies began to persecute us in 1951.... I made no profit out of the advertisements; we handled no remittances; we made no money out of remittances; we merely performed the customary function of a newspaper; we published ads. . . ."

The **China Daily News** is the only Chinese-language paper in the U. S. which has exposed the corruption of the Chiang machine and has consistently urged a peaceful solution to the problems of the Far East. Other Chinese-language papers which carried the Hong Kong bank ads at the same time—and continued to carry them long after the **China Daily News** had dropped them at the Treasury Department's request—were not prosecuted.

APPEAL HINTED: Paul L. Ross, attorney for the **China Daily News,** said the paper will appeal on the grounds that the Trading with the Enemy Act did not apply because the U. S. was not at war with China, and President Truman had not named that country when he declared a "national emergency" in December, 1950.

Even if that had been the case, he said, there would be nothing illegal in doing business with the banks, which are located in the British colony off the Chinese mainland. Judge Ryan conceded that "substantial questions of law" involved would justify an appeal. Thomas R. Jones, a prominent Negro attorney defending the laundry workers, will appeal on their behalf.

The $25,000 fine could put out of business the paper (5,000 circ.) whose only assets are its tiny office on Mott St., and its stock of Chinese characters for hand-set printing. Before the cold war, the paper was the most popular and had the largest circulation among the 20-odd Chinese language papers in the western hemisphere.

ON THE STREETS: Editor Moy, 50, one of the paper's founders, the son of an American citizen, was born in China. He came to the U.S. "unlearned in both Chinese and English," was a laundry and restaurant worker. "By self-denial and perseverence, I educated myself in the classics of the Chinese and English languages," he told the court.

Hours after the sentencing, Moy was back at his desk and the paper was on the streets, perhaps displayed a bit more obviously than usual on the low benches of Chinatown's doorways, where volunteers sell the paper. The community's newsdealers, intimidated by Chiang's men, no longer dare handle it.

". . . A STRANGE PICTURE . . ." — N. Y. Herald Tribune

Friendly, deeply-interested capacity crowds of more than 1,000 each thronged all sessions of the long-awaited New York match between chess teams of the U. S. and the U. S. S. R. Above, Polish-born Samuel Reshevsky, six-time U. S. champion and a top challenger for the world title, faces 33-year-old Vassily Smyslov, the world's No. 2 chess player, who recently drew a 24-game match with world champion Mikhail Botvinnik. The U. S. S. R. team demonstrated their superiority in the first round, held in the ballroom of the Hotel Roosevelt, winning five games, drawing two, losing one. What the N. Y. Herald Tribune found "a strange picture" was not a Soviet victory, but the mere fact of banked U. S. and Soviet flags in a New York hotel ballroom. The N. Y. Times heralded the opening of the match with a sour-grapes-in-advance editorial and a magazine article by Reshevsky deprecating Soviet chess superiority as "a diplomatic game." The Soviet players responded by presenting a silver vase to the U. S. team as a memento of the event. A Soviet team headed here last year, turned back at Paris when the State Dept. refused to let them commute between the Hotel Roosevelt and their UN Delegation headq'ters at Glen Cove, L. I., 20 miles away.

Ben Davis tribute will hear Robeson

MRS. MODJESCA SIMPKINS, South Carolina civic leader and editor of the Columbia **Lighthouse and Informer,** will join Paul Robeson, Rev. Edw. D. McGowan and Beulah Richardson in a public tribute to Benjamin J. Davis, Tues. eve., June 29, at the United Mutual Auditorium, 319 Lenox Av. Sponsored by the Ben Davis Freedom Comm. (Rm. 415, 217 W. 125th St.), the meeting will ask amnesty for Davis, who is now serving the third year of a five-year federal prison term in Terre Haute, Ind., as one of the first victims of the Smith Act. Davis represented Harlem in the City Council.

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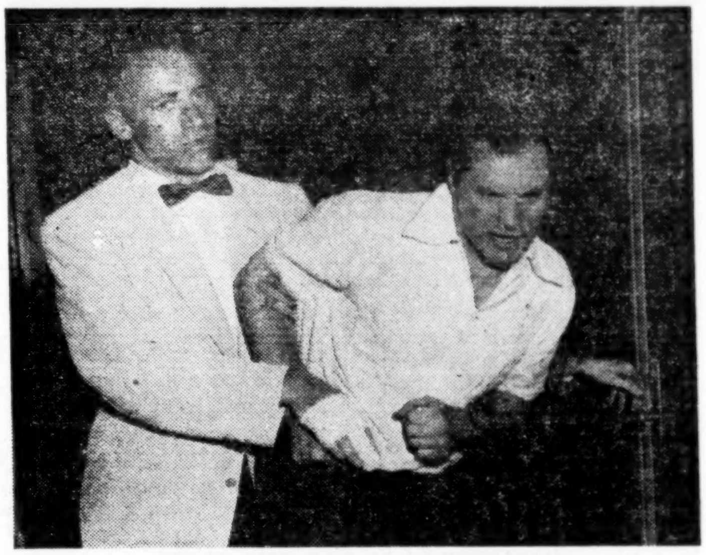

"STOP THE WAR IN GUATEMALA!"

That's what William Daley of New York (r.) shouted from the gallery of the UN Security Council chamber during the debate on Guatemala. "Stop American aggression," he yelled, and U. S. delegate Lodge, who was presiding, angrily ordered him to be removed. He was turned over to police and booked on a disorderly conduct charge. And, in the incredible moral climate of our time, he was sent to Bellevue psychiatric ward for observation by a magistrate. Symptoms: desire for peace.

ASP FORUM

Guatemala crisis and Indo-China June 29 topics

THE new crisis in Guatemala and the continuing crisis in Indo-China will be the topics at a forum sponsored by the N. Y. Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, at 8:30 p.m., Tues., June 29, at the Cornish Arms Hotel, 311 W. 23d St.

GUARDIAN associate editor Elmer Bendiner, who passed several months as a correspondent in Guatemala in 1952, and who has followed events there since, will give a first-hand picture of the government and social conditions, and discuss the background to the current crisis.

Kumar Goshal, GUARDIAN foreign affairs editor, Mrs. Eslanda Robeson, and Carl Marzani will discuss the question "Shall American Boys Fight in Indo-China?" Audience discussion and questions will follow.

"Public opinion can prevent war," says ASP. It cites a June 9 statement by French Premier Mendes-France that "the project for United States intervention (in Indo-China) was set aside by Britain and by public opinion in the United States."

•

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Amnesty Month display at Jefferson School

PICTURES, posters and trade union leaflets that helped to free Eugene V. Debs and hundreds of other World War I political prisoners make up an Amnesty Month display in the auditorium of the Jefferson School of Social Science, 1040 6th Av., Manhattan.

The exhibit is from the collection of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn who played a leading role in the campaigns. Also included is material on the amnesty campaign for today's more than 100 Smith Act victims.

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N.Y. READERS' FORUM

Comments on McAvoy's letter, Ross' speech and ALP policy

In the May 31 issue of the GUARDIAN, there appeared an article by Clifford T. McAvoy commenting on the policy and program of the American Labor Party for 1954 as set forth at the ALP rally May 6 in New York. We invited readers to comment and print below excerpts (because of the length of the letters) of comments by New York readers.

United Action

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Mr. McAvoy's points need only be underlined: the similarity between the Truman Democratic and Eisenhower Republican parties' domestic and foreign policies—and the absolute need for an alternative to be placed before the people. "The essence of McCarthyism is its calculated attempt to create an unbridgeable chasm between the Soviet Union and the U.S. . . ." Our support should only go to candidates whose position is opposed to this purpose.

Make no mistake—no one in his right mind would oppose united action with other organizations if (a) we could actually unite and survive as ALP, and (b) if the action deserved our support.

The ALP achieved its greatest strength—and, if you please, was able to participate in united fronts with other groups on a position of equality—when it organized the people on the basis of a program of fulfilling the needs of the people.

If a program is not accepted easily, we don't throw out the program and accept what the "majority of people" apparently want. . . . If the fight is hard, we nonetheless cannot abandon it; although we should examine our methods and try to better them. S.

P.S.: I am sorry I cannot sign my full name but I earn my living working for one of those organizations with whom some advocate a "united front," and my membership in the ALP would be ample cause for my discharge. The leadership of this organization, by the way, is violently anti-McCarthy.

Ickes on Congress

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The late Harold L. Ickes, in the last article he wrote, said:

"Let the Republicans and Democrats alike cauterize their noisome sores lest each be overcome by the stench of its own corruption. . . . We have developed a Congress with the worst smell and most corroded conscience that can be disclosed in any page of the U.S."

The old parties cannot be reformed. Their servility to the vested interests of the corporations and of the hungry-for-war cliques has become chronic. One result of their vile competition is the demoralization and breakdown of traditional standards, ideals and practices of American democracy.

A few months ago all Senate Democrats—with one exception—voted funds to enable McCarthy to continue his operations. A Democratic administration under Truman set the stage for the witch-hunters, character assassins, stool-pigeons and informers that form the core of the McCarthyite political underworld. **A. Garcia Diaz**

The people's needs

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

The overwhelming majority of the members and friends of the ALP, I am sure, are interested in opposing not only the methods of McCarthyism, but the essence of the McCarthy drive toward fascism. They will apply no simple test of party label, Democrat or Republican, in determining candidates who are worthy of support for election. Nor will they accept a candidate as worthy of their support who opposes some small phase of McCarthyism, but whose entire role, in essence, advances us on the road to fascism. . . .

Bernard Silverman

Unite vs. fascism

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

. . . We must try to defeat reaction on all fronts. We cannot expect candidates, as liberal as they they profess to be, to offer a full program which would benefit the masses of people. We should give support to any candidate who opposes a McCarthy, the Walter-McCarran Act even if not 100%, or who opposes intervention in Indo-China, Guatemala or anywhere else.

I am astonished at Mr. McAvoy's view on the essence of McCarthyism. Surely you cannot lightly pass over losing our civil liberties at home and only consider the danger of McCarthyism in reference to propaganda against the Soviet Union. It is important to work for a united front and save the country from fascism. **Reader**

Stop internal conflict

NEW YORK, N.Y.

There are now less than five months before Election Day. In this short period there remains a big job to be done in order to guarantee that the ALP garner the necessary 50,000 votes for its gubernatorial candidate and, as a necessary concomitant, that the forces of McCarthyism, Deweyism and Farleyism be defeated in New York State.

These twin objectives can and must be achieved, but success is dependent upon a united ALP. No such campaign can be waged if our energies are being dissipated by internal conflict.

The GUARDIAN can and should be the spark-plug of the independent progressive forces in New York, and can contribute much to the ALP campaign. If the GUARDIAN staff agrees with the leadership of the ALP that we must wage the strongest possible campaign for our candidates, they would do well to avoid creating confusion and doubt within the ALP, and should devote their efforts to the building of the ALP as a vital force in the communities of our city and state.

Babette Jones

100 per cent

BABYLON, N.Y.

. . . We are in full agreement with Clifford McAvoy.

Otto and Hava Skattedal

Isolation

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Our politicos tells us: "We must not let ourselves be isolated from the masses." There surely can be no purer "isolation from the masses" than the isolation of Democratic-Republican-Liberal Party demagoguery. **Albert Greenbaum**

Principled, realistic

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The report made by Paul Ross at Manhattan Center outlined peace, anti-depression, McCarthyism, city issues and corruption as being the main program for the election this fall. Methods were indicated in this report to achieve this program. The report stressed a strong campaign on all of these issues so that the other parties cannot ignore them, the responsibility of our candidates to expose the weaknesses of their opponents' platforms, and support of individual candidates of other parties only where we decide that they have shown a willingness to accept part of our program which would then benefit us by giving us the means to further that promise.

It seems to me that the so-called "pure" approach where we insist that any candidate the ALP might support must agree with us on every single point works against us rather than for us. It only serves to isolate us, we do not elect anyone and therefore, have no effect on influencing the legislators and our vote dwindles year after year. We must find a way of looking at things which can combine a fight for principle and a realistic political outlook. **Philip German**

Broad as the world

NEW YORK, N.Y.

With a real understanding of McCarthyism, it is easy to be clear on the question of coalition. Coalition must be within the framework of our program. It must be oriented for peace and against fascism in all its aspects; anything less is a betrayal of our beliefs and results not in coalition but in our own dissolution.

Our countrymen and all humanity need the program we have to offer. Let us present it to them openly and honestly. **E. Rose**

Nó "lesser evil"

NEW YORK, N.Y.

As we see Democrats and Republicans alike call for the choking of the popular will in Indo-China and Guatemala; as they both suppress civil liberties — and the Democrats can only agree to do nothing on Taft-Hartley—we again are in danger of choosing a "lesser evil."

We must see our objective as a rallying point and inspiration for a broad, new national labor party; and we must not let any son-of-a-great-father obscure that fact.

ALP member

Tweedledewey or -dummer

BRONX, N.Y.

It is time we face up to the issues before us. They are not merely a question of defeating Deweyism and defeating McCarthyism, but whether the ALP is for Peace, Freedom, Abundance. Unless we back candidates who will carry out these aims of the ALP, we will only be replacing Tweedledee by Tweedledum and will find ourselves in the midst of a third World War. **E. L.**

200,000 ALP votes?

NEW YORK, N.Y.

We lost thousands of voters — and failed to attract many more who didn't vote at all — as a result of attempts to build up Wagner as a "lesser evil." What has this Tammany Hall batboy done since he assumed office? He appointed Impellitteri to a judgeship; enlisted the help of Thomas Campbell Brown in stepping up the witch-hunt in our schools and civil service; played a more than dubious role in the city's campaign against the Rosenberg children; endorsed the Democratic sell-out of Puerto Rican representation in the 14th E.D.; snafu'd May Day.

People are more likely to be influenced by "lesser-evilism" in an election where the governorship is at stake. Should we adopt an ambiguous line . . . we will not get the 50,000 votes we need to stay on the ballot. In such an eventuality we can probably not long survive. . . .

McAvoy's figure of 200,000 potential ALP votes is not utopian, provided our gubernatorial candidate makes it unmistakably clear that we are for peace, full employment and civil liberties, and against the "Deweyism" of both Dewey and Tammany. **Fred Ehrenfeld**

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AN EDITORIAL STATEMENT

The job ahead

THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY is the only political party worth its salt on the New York State ballot. Its program is the only one devised directly by the people of the state and geared solely to their basic needs and demands. The power of the American Labor Party to win adoption of this program depends, of course, on its continued position as a ballot party, and upon its growth as an independent and decisive political force.

The accompanying letters indicate deep concern for these objectives among GUARDIAN readers in New York, as among American Labor Party voters generally. Whether aimed at the minimum of 50,000 votes needed for the 1954 gubernatorial candidate to maintain ALP on the ballot after 1954, or at an optimum of the 220,000 votes cast for the ALP ticket in the 1950 gubernatorial campaign, the task ahead for the ALP campaigner is an arduous one, requiring the smartest of smart politics under the most difficult handicaps.

As the campaign proceeds, the air will be filled with familiar Tammany demagogy, appealing to the traditional "lesser-evil" tendencies of the independent voter. The job ahead for ALP is to insure a decisive ALP vote despite this situation. The GUARDIAN intends to devote its fullest effort toward this end.

—THE EDITORS

NEW PAMPHLET

The trial of Joe McCarthy

LAST DECEMBER a "subpoena" was served on Sen. McCarthy during the Fort Monmouth hearings in New York, informing him of a public trial at which he would be the accused. McCarthy did not appear at his "trial" but 8,000 people did. They jammed the St. Nicholas Arena in January, 1954, to hear the indictment and the witnesses (all McCarthyism victims) and to pass public judgment. An overflow crowd filled a smaller hall and more people stood outside in the wintry street. It was the most exciting anti-McCarthy meeting yet held and the dramatic record of it* can provide the material for similar meetings anywhere.

Edited by Albert E. Kahn, **McCarthy on Trial** contains the full "indictment," a prologue and epilogue by Kahn and the full testimony of all the witnesses participating. Witnesses included Julius Emspak, United Electrical Workers leader; James Aronson, **Guardian** exec. editor; Mrs. Eslanda Robeson, Howard Fast, Rev. Wm. H. Melish; fur union leader Ben Gold and a half dozen others.

Kahn's booklet fully documents McCarthy's ugly record. Its "fact sheet" appendix details his anti-Semitic and fascist connections, his anti-labor activities and his **plunderbund** voting record. **J. T. M.**

*** McCARTHY ON TRIAL, edited by Albert E. Kahn; Cameron & Kahn, 109 Greenwich Av., New York 14, N. Y.; 64 pp. 25c (bulk prices on request.)**

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NEW YORK CALENDAR

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GARDEN PARTY
Sat. night, June 26, at Welch, 6 Charles St. Dancing, entertainment, refreshments. Contribution: $1. Auspices: Village ALP.

FIESTA. Sat., June 26, 2 p.m. until ?. Entertainment, good food, music, dancing. Los Hispanos Unidos of 13 A.D. ALP, 3410 Broadway (nr. 138th St.) Adm: $1. Children free.

PROTEST MEETING ON GUATEMALA. "Hands Off Guatemala!" Thurs., July 1, 8 p.m., Adelphi Hall, 74 5th Av. Auspices: Socialist Workers' Party. Contribution: 35c.

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In the interests of democracy

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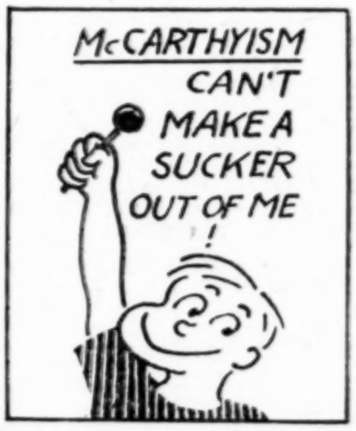
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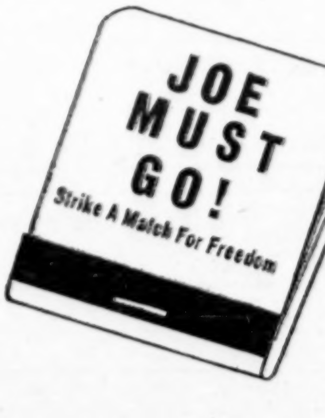
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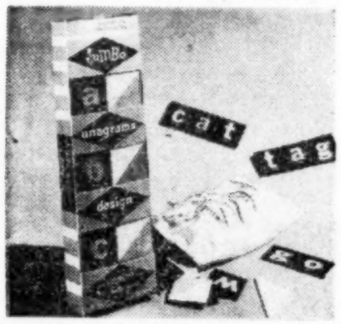

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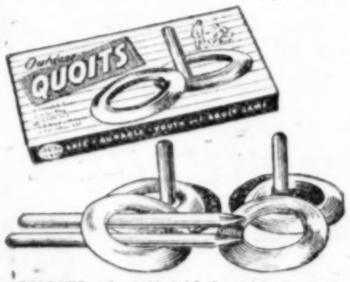

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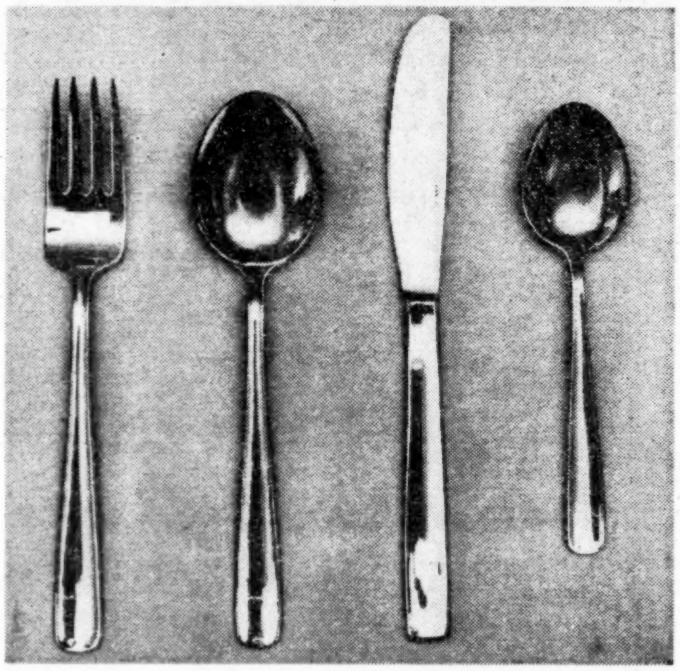

THE current vogue in tableware are the beautiful, simple-lined, modern Scandinavian designs. We agree these are the most attractive designs on the markets. Unfortunately, they are priced far beyond the average pocketbook, ranging from $6-$9 per place setting. However, we have found a set of stainless steel tableware to match the beauty and craftsmanship of the Scandinavian models. It is made in Japan with exquisite taste and sturdy construction. IT IS AS BEAUTIFUL AND WELL MADE AS THE SCANDINAVIAN MODELS. It is made of stainless steel, heavy weight, one-piece knives, beautifully contoured. And best of all, it is priced to fit most budgets.

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the SPECTATOR

The world of our children

A REFRESHINGLY untroubled world is on view this week in a cavern of the Museum of Natural History of New York, where the Board of Education is presenting an exhibition of the art program of the city schools. Hundreds of paintings, drawings, ceramics, puppets, photographs and collage reflect a surprising absence of morbidity, considering that New York children might as well be living inside a pressure cooker. Granted that art department heads have hand-picked the product, nevertheless the trend is clearly toward portraying peace and plenty.

The themes vary with the age level, but all the artists from six to 18 sense keenly what is real and important to them. Atom bomb drills, ducking under desks, and bad bogeyman stories about the new Red Rovers have not thrown them off balance, to judge from their pictures. Apparently M. I. K. still means to them More in the Kitchen, not Men in the Kremlin. The lone war painting belongs to the academic school and is clearly derivative of some Saturday afternoon movie. And if an 11-year-old draws a comic strip blonde in an evening gown tied to a stake by menacing Indians, this is offset by an idyllic representation of Puritans and Indians shaking hands.

Pernicious influences may be nibbling at the future generation, but the very fact of living in a land at peace, where one's home stands intact, and one may look at the sky without terror of being bombed tonight, is the real difference between what this children's exhibition is and what it might be.

IN 1938, DURING the Spanish civil war, a collection was made of the art work of children in that beleaguered country. Sixty pieces were gathered and reproduced in a book published by the Quakers. It was called **They Still Draw Pictures,** and in a foreword Aldous Huxley wrote:

> "It is a pleasure to consider these children's drawings as works of art, but it is also our duty to remember that they are signs of the times, symptoms of our contemporary civilization. . . . To the little boys and girls of Spain, the symbol of contemporary civilization, the overwhelmingly significant fact in the world today is the bombing plane. For hundreds of thousands of children in Spain, as for millions of other children in China, the plane, with its bombs and its machine guns, is the thing that, in the world we live in and helped to make, is significant and important above all things. This is the dreadful fact to which the drawings in our collection bear unmistakable witness."

In 1947 almost all the nations of Europe contributed to an exhibition of children's drawings in Paris. With the memory of evacuation, starvation and destruction still vivid, and the ruins around them to keep the experiences fresh, the artists naturally recreated war scenes. These had been lived through, not seen on a screen with pals and popcorn.

There were flowers and ballet dancers and locomotives, too, like those drawn by their present day colleagues at the Museum of Natural History. However, the cat sniffing at a Brooklyn garbage can is not so haunting as the one in "After the Raid," executed by a London child recalling a blitz. The London cat stands alone and amazed, the only living creature in the midst of tumbled bricks, rubble and smoke. Only two objects remain intact: kitty's empty cup—and a hot water bottle.

THE "CREDO" of the New York City Board of Education's art program states:

> "We believe art to be an essential of our American way of life. Through the various channels of art our aspirations and ideals are expressed. . . . We believe that art education strengthens our concept of culture."

Mr. Jansen, operating a status-quota system for teachers, probably would be shocked by the definition of culture proposed by another school inspector, Matthew Arnold. He wrote:

> "Culture seeks to do away with classes and sects; to make the best that has been thought and known in the world current everywhere; to make all men live in an atmosphere of sweetness and light."

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